THE WOMAN'S

DREADNOUGHT

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WAR OFFICE CRUELTIES: *"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."*

Still the scandal of discharging disabled soldiers and sailors without pensions continues. Some time ago it was promised that married men should be granted £1 a week until the amount of their pension should be settled, and unmarried men 10s. The War Office has now decided that it can save money by making the interim grant 14s. a week for both married and single men. It has also decided that instead of a soldier's pay and period of service continuing for three weeks after he has been declared medically unfit he shall be discharged in a fortnight. It takes always weeks, and often months, before the authorities decide what the pension shall be, and in the meantime the invalid man and his wife and children are to exist on 14s. a week!

WAR OFFICE IMPUDENCE.

This week we desire to call attention to another point of special hardship which is not generally realised. If a husband and wife have not been living together prior to the enlistment, the War Office refuses separation allowance to the wife, even though the husband makes the usual allotment and implores that his wife and children shall receive separation allowance. In many cases the estrangement between the husband and wife has been a merely temporary one, never likely to occur again; in other cases the arrangement to live apart for a time has been an amicable arrangement. In such cases the War Office makes separation allowance to the wife on the basis arranged for dependants other than wives and children which is, of course, on a lower scale and in no case is allowed to exceed the amount contributed by the soldier prior to the War. On this point the War Office often demands proof and, as may readily be understood, there is frequently no documentary or other evidence, save that of the parties themselves as to the amounts contributed.

In numbers of cases both husbands and wives who have become reconciled and are spending the husband's leave together, are begging in vain for separation allowance.

At the end of June, 1915, the War Office discovered quite accidentally that a soldier whose wife was receiving separation allowance had been living apart from her prior to enlistment. The War Office at once demanded an explanation. It was told that the husband had taken to drinking and had been rather quarrlesome with his eldest son and therefore it had been agreed that he should go into lodgings for a time. His wife staying at home with the children. The man had remained on good terms with his wife and

"All hatred for the Germans goes when you see them lying dead" said a young British soldier.

had come home to take her out in the evenings. When he enlisted the past had been wiped out, the lodgings given up, and his periods of leave had been spent at home. Prior to enlistment the man's earnings had not been so good as usual, and having his lodgings to pay for he had only given his wife from 12s. to £1 a week. The eldest son had been at this time the mainstay of the home, but when he enlisted his mother could get no separation allowance on his account. During inquiries by the War Office, into the relations between the husband and wife, the wife's allowance was stopped, from June till August 5th she got nothing but her son's allotment of 3s. 6d. a week. Then she got a dependant's allowance, from which deductions were made for the time when she had wife's allowance. The League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives took up the case, two Members of Parliament helped, many letters were written, and at last, on October 6th, the wife's separation allowance was restored.

A "MERCENARY MOTIVE."

A poor woman began endeavouring to secure her separation allowance towards the end of 1914 or early in 1915. Her husband had deserted her in 1913, and a maintenance order had been granted of 9s. a week for herself and her child. The husband enlisted when War broke out, and after a time made an allotment of 3s. 6d. to his wife, asked her forgiveness for his past unkindness, and tried to help her in securing separation allowance. Every few days he wrote affectionate letters to her anxiously inquiring as to whether her money had been settled yet. On June 19th, the case having come to our knowledge, we wrote to the War Office urging that as a reconciliation had taken place the separation allowance should be paid. A Member of Parliament also took up the case at our request. Several brief acknowledgments were received from the War Office, and on July 7th, 1916, Mr. Forster unctuously replied that if documentary evidence showing that there had been a reconciliation, were forthcoming "the question of the payment of separation allowance will be carefully considered. I need scarcely say that the reconciliation must be a genuine one and not solely for the mercenary purpose of securing an allowance!"

The mark of exclamation was added by Mr. Forster with his signature!

Let us hope that he has never done anything more mercenary than endeavour to get a few

(Continued on page 568.)

THE AYRSHIRE PEACE CANDIDATURE: By P. J. Dollan

We have been having most encouraging experiences in North Ayrshire, where an Independent candidate, the Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, is challenging the return of General Hunter-Weston, who is the Coalition nominee for the Parliamentary vacancy caused by the death of the late Captain Campbell. General Hunter-Weston is at present on active service as an employee of the nation on full pay; but apparently, in addition to winning the War, he thinks he can also represent North Ayrshire in Parliament. This desire of the General's to represent the division in the House of Commons conflicts somewhat with his declaration recently made that the only thing that matters is the War. Parliament is of no account; neither, we presume, are food prices!

The General is a landowner and farmer in the division, and is not too popular with his employees, many of whom I know will vote against him. He has not to my knowledge mixed in politics before now, but evidently, like most militarists, he has come to regard himself as one of the chosen leaders of the people. And so the Unionists of North Ayrshire, hypnotised by the gloss of militarism, have adopted the General as the Coalition candidate, although he won't be able to attend to his Parliamentary duties until after the war. Thus, if the General is returned, the poor who are looking to Parliament for redress against the food profiteers can tighten the belts across their stomachs and wait until the gallant gentleman and his friends have captured Potsdam.

The mass of the poor, of course, don't matter to the people who have chosen the General as their candidate. Nothing matters until the War is won and the General is helping to win the War. So while he is winning the War, soldiers without pensions, dependants without allowances, people suffering under high prices, children pining from lack of milk, old-age pensioners in or on the threshold of the workhouse, can wait; the glory of War will keep them alive until the General returns after a period in which there is neither clock nor calendar. Many people do maintain that those and other grievances do mattter, and cannot wait for settlement until the General wins the War. And so they have nominated the Independent candidate, and the nomination is taken as an insult to the General, who, if you please, should not have been opposed!

The candidature of the Independent, who is a Baptist minister from Wandsworth, was not taken seriously at first by the friends of the General, and they thought they would have no need to worry about a campaign. However, when the Independent was heard by large and approving crowds they discovered that the General was in danger of defeat, and so for the few days before the poll both Liberal and Tory co-operated to save the militarist from disaster. Whether they succeeded will be known when these notes are read in print; but, at any rate, they have got the fright of their lives and—from a Pacifist candidate. For be it marked that the Independent is making Peace by negotiation one of the foremost planks in his platform. Let the candidate's election address speak for the frankness of the campaign. Here it is:—

Gentlemen,—I have the honour of coming before you at this by-election to ask your vote and support for the British and Democratic policy outlined below.

1. To demand the cessation of the growing militarist domination in our own land, lest, while our soldiers are dying for the liberation of Belgium, they find their own liberties filched from them and theirs. British democratic methods are better for Britain than Prussian autocratic ways. Even in War-time let Britain be governed in accordance with British ideals.

2. To request the Government, as a measure of justice and faith towards our soldiers and sailors, our nation and our allies, particularly Belgium, to state immediately, in clear language, the terms upon which they are prepared to bring the War to an end.

3. To request the Government to open negotiations with the enemy Powers, either together or separately, as soon as these display willingness to follow this course.

4. To demand that War pensions and allowances shall be administered in a more liberal as well as a more business-like manner than is now the case.

5. To bring pressure to bear upon the Government to take strong action to curb the rising prices of food and other necessaries, and to take possession, for the good of the community, of all the excess profits obtained by some from the necessity and suffering of the public.

6. To make it clear that no departure from our present fiscal system (Free Trade) ought to be made without a mandate from the electorate.

7. In view of the increased cost of living, to demand the immediate increase of old age pensions to ten shillings per week.

8. To demand Adult Suffrage.

9. I am in favour of the fulfilment of the mandate already given to the Government for Irish Home Rule, and of the introduction of a measure of Home Rule for Scotland.

10. I am opposed to the proposed taxation of Co-operative dividends.

If returned to Parliament, I shall devote my very best powers to the service of North Ayrshire.

Faithfully Yours,

HUMPHREY CHALMERS.

N.B.—In response to the appeal of the Government for economy in petrol, no voters will be conveyed to the poll in motors on behalf of the Independent candidate.

From the address it will be seen that Mr. Chalmers is not hiding his Pacifism and anti-Militarism under a bushel. He is fighting the militarists in the open and in one of their own fortresses, and is making progress. Without organisation and with only a few daring Socialists as supporters Mr. Chalmers is putting up a rare fight and has been making converts for peace at every meeting. Only the other day a meeting of armaments workers accorded him a vote of confidence, even although he had addressed them with the utmost frankness in favour of peace. The reception given to Pacifist utterances by the electors has been immense, and makes it positive that the War fever has passed away. The people are absolutely tired of militarism, and want to be led along the path to an honourable peace.

These lines, of course, are written two days before the election day, which is October 11th, and while I am not confident of victory I am sure the result will be encouraging from our point of view. And even though the Independent is beaten by an overwhelming majority he will win, for he has proved that it is possible to favour peace and to denounce Militarism, even in the passion of a by-election. Since we have had that proof it will be our duty to contest every by-election, and when our cause has overthrown militarism we will be able to look upon North Ayrshire as the turning point in our struggle against inaction.

"The Hungarian Opposition declares that mistakes have been made. Good. I say to them: All Europe, when it took up arms, made a mistake; even in the very fact that it took up arms. Only those nations have a prospect of coming out victors which have kept well out of the world war—the more out of it the better.—From an interview with a "Foreign Officer" in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse.*

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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

THE FRANCHISE PROSPECT

When Parliament rose for the holidays, it was hoped that the Electoral Reform Conference would sit during the recess and be ready to present its report when the House reassembled on October 10th. But the members of the Conference have only been appointed on the day on which it was expected that they would report.

Disappointment has been expressed that the Conference is altogether a Parliamentary one, and does not include, as was suggested during the summer, representative men and women from the various suffrage and other organisations interested in electoral reform.

We agree, of course, that it is both incongruous and unjust to exclude women from a Conference which is to prepare important schemes regarding the enfranchisement of women. But it is equally unjust and incongruous that a Parliament composed of men only and elected by men alone should have the final decisive power in this matter. This more serious injustice and incongruity, however, we have to endure perpetually, for every question that Parliament deals with concerns us, and in every decision we are unrepresented, and shall remain so until we are admitted to the franchise.

We believe that the decisions of an Electoral Reform Conference, formed of members of the House, are more likely to carry weight with Parliament and the Government than those arrived at by an outside body. It seems to us that it would be exceedingly difficult for a Government to set aside the franchise question as a thing to be dealt with in the "dim and distant future," when, as we hope may be the case, a Parliamentary Committee appointed by the Government has reported the advisability of immediate action.

We regret that members of the non-elected House of Lords should sit and vote upon the Committee which is to prepare proposals for electing the representatives of the people to the House of Commons. But here again we must remember that so long as the House of Lords is allowed the power to discuss and defeat franchise Bills no special advantage will be gained by excluding them from the Conference. Their power in the House of Lords is infinitely greater and more dangerous.

Now as to the personnel of the Committee. Those of us who desire the franchise for every man and woman must not look to this Parliamentary Conference to secure it without pressure from us outside. We must not delude ourselves with the comfortable thought that our opponents are exerting no pressure, and that therefore there is little for us to do. Nor must we rely on the help that will come to us from the conversion of important Parliamentarians to Human Suffrage, for these very men have long professed their belief in other important principles which still await enactment. We must refuse all compromise and stand firmly by our demand for a vote for every adult. We must agree to no bargaining away of the rights of any section of men or women. We must not expect to be led by Members of Parliament who experience extreme difficulty in bearing up against the Parliamentary habit and atmosphere of compromise. We must define our own course, and bring the pressure of popular opinion to bear upon them. We must revivify them with the enthusiasm which we have gained in the campaign.

The Suffrage situation here is not unlike that in America. We have Mr. Asquith declaring himself in favour of a broad and democratic franchise and unable to deny the claim of women. We have Mr. Walter Long suggesting the Parliamentary Conference and a general atmosphere of Cabinet conversion to votes for women. In America every political party has made votes for women a "plank" in its programme. President Wilson has addressed the National Women's Suffrage Association's Convention, and has said, "I have come to fight with you." Mr. Hughes, his Republican rival is urging the enactment of the Federal Amendment to give nation-wide suffrage to American women. President Wilson said to the Convention:

"The whole art and practice of Government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for them to follow."

In saying this, it is unlikely that he was considering anything but his own course of action, but his words aptly sum up the policy which has animated the leadership of Mrs. Catt. She has been a supporter of many of the forward movements in American suffrage tactics, but she has not urged them upon the National Association until the bulk of its membership has grown ready to accept them. Therefore the pronouncement which Mrs. Catt has made at this juncture carries the more weight. She says:

"The object of the life of an organised movement is to secure its aim. Necessarily, it must obey the law of evolution and pass through the stages of agitation and education and finally through the stage of realisation. As one has put it: 'A new idea floats in the air over the heads of the people and for a long, indefinite period evades their understanding, but, by and by, when through familiarity human vision grows clearer, it is caught out of the clouds and crystallised into law.' Such a period comes to every movement and is its crisis. In my judgment, that crucial moment, bidding us to renewed consecration and redoubled activity, has come to our cause. I believe our victory hangs within our grasp, inviting us to pluck it out of the clouds and establish it among the good things of the world.

"If this be true, the time is past when we should say: 'Men and women of America, look upon that wonderful idea up there; see, one day it will come down.' Instead, the time has come to shout aloud in every city, village and hamlet, and in tones so clear and jubilant that they will reverberate from every mountain peak and echo from shore to shore: 'The Woman's Hour Has Struck.' Suppose suffragists as a whole do not believe a crisis has come and do not extend their hands to grasp the victory, what will happen? Why, we shall all continue to work and our cause will continue to hang, waiting for those who possess a clearer vision and more daring enterprise."

A few women here and there have dropped out from State work in the fond delusion that there is no need of work if the Federal Amendment is to be the aim. I hold such women to be more dangerous enemies of our cause than the known opponent. Let no one labour under the delusion that suffrage can be won in any other way than by the education and organisation of the constituencies. Let no woman think the vote will be handed her some bright summer morning "on a golden platter at the foot of a rainbow."

"The Woman's Hour has Struck. Yet, if the call goes unheeded, if our women think it means the vote without a struggle, if they think other women can and will pay the price of their emancipation, the hour may pass and our political liberty may be won."

The words to American Suffragists apply with equal force to us here. The pressure needed to secure the enactment of a great principle must come from the people. It is our business to organise and focus the undoubted desire of the people for votes for all, in order that effective Parliamentary action may be produced. The process of securing reform is indeed too tedious, and calls for too great an expenditure of force and energy by the popular battering ram. But until the executive machine has been popularised, humanised, and made practical, we must exert all the pressure to bear on it that we can.

Great meetings for Adult Suffrage have been held this week in London and Glasgow. The campaign must go on.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Jus Suffragii for October contains an interesting account of the late Lily Braun, a prominent German Socialist and Feminist, by Anna Baur. It is reported from India that Miss Regina Guha is applying to the High Court of Calcutta to be allowed to plead as a lawyer, and that the demand for education by Indian women is growing greatly.

From Iceland is given a letter by Mrs. Briet Asmundsson, who was the only woman candidate in the election for the Upper House in the first election in which Icelandic women have been able to vote, which took place on August 5th. Mrs. Asmundsson just missed election, having received the highest number of votes amongst the non-elected candidates. In the election for the Lower House, which takes place this month, there will be several women candidates.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs writes of suffrage activities in Holland, and of open-air meetings held in woods, meadows, and villages, and heralded by brass bands or the songs of suffrage workers, which draw the crowds together.

From Russia comes news that the citizens of Kiev have petitioned the Duma for a democratic reform of the municipal suffrage to include women.

* * * *

Mrs. Josephine Marshall Fernand has been adopted by the Californian Primary Election as Democratic candidate for Congress, Miss J. Rankin is elected as the Republican candidate for Montana, and Mrs. F. C. Axtell is elected both as candidate for the Democratic and Progressive candidate for Washington.

ELECTORAL REFORM CONFERENCE

In the House of Commons on October 10th, Sir W. Essex (Stafford, L.), asked whether any statement could be made concerning the conference on electoral reform. Mr. Bonar Law replied: The terms of reference are as follows:—To examine into and, if possible, to submit agreed resolutions on the following matters:—

The reform of the Parliamentary franchise.

The basis for a redistribution of seats.

The reform of the system of registration of electors.

The method of election, and the manner in which the costs of elections should be borne.

Mr. Speaker has been kind enough to consent to preside over the conference, which was to hold its first meeting on Thursday, 12th, at the Local Government Board, at 11 o'clock.

We have noted 17 members of the Committee who are said to be Suffragists. But we hope there may be others also.

The members of the Committee are:—Lord Salisbury (C.); Earl Grey (L. Suffragist), Lord Bryce (L.), Lord Burnham (C.), Viscount Gladstone (L. Suffragist), Sir Ryland Adkins (L.), Rt. Hon. Sir F. Banbury (U.), Sir John Bethell (L. Suffragist), Sir William Bull (U. Suffragist), Col. Page Croft (U.), Col. James Craig (U. Suffragist), Mr. Ellis Davies (L. Suffragist), Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson (L. Suffragist), Rt. Hon. Sir R. Finlay (U.), Mr. Goldstone (Labour Suffragist), Rt. Hon. Laurence Hardy (U.), Mr. Maurice Healy (Irish Suffragist), Rt. Hon. George Lambert (L.), Sir J. Larmor (U.), Mr. J. Mooney (N.), Mr. T. P. O'Connor (N.), Mr. Peto (U. Suffragist), Mr. Pringle (L. Suffragist), Rt. Hon. Sir Harry Samuel (U), Mr. Scanlan (N. Suffragist), Mr. MacCallum Scott (L.), Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon (L. Suffragist), Mr. Turton (U. Suffragist), Mr. Stephen Walsh (Lab. Suffragist), Mr. Ward (Lab. Suffragist), Mr. Aneurin Williams (L. Suffragist).

WHEAT AND THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Runciman has announced that the Government will control the wheat supply. A Royal Commission has been appointed to carry out the work. The Commission of nine includes at least four men who are interested in the corn trade or in shipping, and the Chairman of an insurance company. Women and Labour have no representatives upon it. This committee should see to it that the price of bread and flower is reduced, but their terms of reference do not suggest this.

AN ARTIST TO A QUEEN

Congratulations to the young Dutch artist, Mr. J. Hagemayer, who has called the attention of the Queen of Holland to her inconsistency in first "hurling into the world" the words "Christ before all," and then summoning him and the other men of Holland to the colours for service in killing their fellow men! The Queen's private Secretary has ignominously replied that her Majesty performed merely a private act when she wrote those words on a portrait which she gave to an Argentine lady who presented a reproduction of a statue of Christ from the Andes to the Palace of Peace. The Secretary goes on to tell Mr, Hagemayer that the Bible teaches that man's most sacred duty is to defend his hearth and home, "as indeed is innate in every animal through an instinct given it by God."

This is certainly a frank confession; the believers in warfare do not, as a rule so openly base their philosophy upon the instinct of the brute. But is this what the Queen of Holland has learnt from her Bible? Most obviously she has misunderstood it. We should advise her to take lessons immediately at the nearest Socialist Sunday School! The Queen, through her Secretary, concludes by urging the young man to have confidence in his leaders, even if he cannot understand them. Mr. Hagemayer has replied by reiterating his refusal to undertake military service, and by telling the Queen that should she punish him she will have on her side *might*, but not *right!*

A CRY FROM THE RUMANIAN JEWS.

Vorwaerts quotes Leo Holfson, a Rumanian Jew, and a well-known solicitor in New York, who complains of the Rumanian oppression of the Jews. He declares that they are not considered as Rumanian citizens, and in Rumania are as foreigners without any foreign Government to protect them. Citizen rights are only granted to them by special Act of Parliament, which is a long and costly process almost impossible to accomplish. They cannot vote or exercise any public function. They are subject to three years' military service, but they cannot gain promotion from the ranks. They are excluded from agriculture, they may not be solicitors, solicitor's assistants, or chemists, and they may only form a small proportion of the chemists' assistants. Jews cannot be officers on board ships flying the Rumanian flag, and only one-third of the crew may consist of Jews. Commercial organisations may not accept Jewish members, and a Jew may not be the responsible editor of a newspaper, and Jews may not execute public works; they have to pay special taxes for sending their children to school, and may be expelled from Rumania by order of the Government from one day to another. These are but some of the disabilities under which they suffer. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the independence of Rumania was recognised on condition that equal rights were given to the Jews. The Rumanian representatives, Bratiano and Kogolnichanor, signed the treaty, but the Rumanian Government decided only to grant citizen rights to the Jews singly on application to Parliament, as explained above. During the last 25 years only a few hundred Jews have been emancipated, whilst more than a quarter of a million remain without rights.

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The Health of Munition Workers Committee weakly agrees that boys over 16 may work 65 hours a week, and boys under 16 years 60 hours.

IN BELGIUM: By Emily Hobhouse

"I entered Belgium from Switzerland by way of Herbesthal. I went prepared to see a devastated country. My long sojourn in South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War had taught me what to expect when soldiers have done their work with fire and sword. My sympathy with non-combatants made me wish to know how the Belgians fared in a similar state of things.

"The train threaded its way through the pretty wooded country which lies between the frontier and Liège. The invading army had passed that way. Full of desire to see all the havoc it had wrought, I went from side to side eagerly scanning both landscapes, till some German nuns apologetically filled the compartment and limited my outlook. It was a glistening June morning after rain, and all was verdant, flowery, and tranquil—everything seemed normal. Presently we came upon the village of Dolhain lying below in its valley. As far as one could see looking down upon it (and I can only speak of what I saw, not of what I did *not* see) the village was in its usual condition. Smoke rose gently from the chimneys, gardens were blooming, and no trees seemed to be cut down.

"My escort cried: 'Now I will show you a ruined house'—and there immediately beyond Dolhain, on a crag over-hanging the village, was the once-familiar sight of a roofless house with gaping windows. The first mark of war.

"I saw nothing more till we reached Liège. A considerable part of this town is visible from the line, but I could detect nothing much unusual—certainly there had been no general destruction, only occasional ruin here and there—and as we glided on through the more level country towards Brussels there was nothing to note, with the exception of Louvain, which I shall refer to in a moment. The crops promised well, and, superficially, all looked fair. We were in a German train, the express from Berlin to Lille, and it ran well. The railways are manned throughout by Germans, for I understand the Belgians, with one accord, refused, very naturally, to undertake this service. Notices were posted in German, and the names of stations were changed to German forms—a curious work of supererogation beloved of armies of occupation, as I have elsewhere noted.

BRUSSELS AND ANTWERP.

We ran into Brussels. The station is very military in its arrangements and system of passports, &c., but the beautiful city is just as of old. Her cathedral, her old square, with its richly-gilded mediæval architecture, her churches and palaces, her treasures of art and science, all are intact. Even the lion of Waterloo—further afield—said to have been removed for its metal, stands safe on its pyramid. Life, though chilled by the presence of the stranger and his rule, goes on; only—and this is a big exception—industrial activity is paralysed. The blockade has stopped the passage into Belgium of all raw material, and this is bringing grievous consequences.

"My first trip was to Antwerp. As one neared the town, isolated houses in that populous district were to be seen more or less ruined, and many had already been repaired. Here, as everywhere, I marvelled that there was no indication of wholesale and complete destruction. The armies had fought in that vicinity and buildings here and there had suffered, while others close at hand were untouched. The village and church of Düffel had received hard blows, and further on stray houses in the outskirts of Antwerp gaped to the sky.

"Much that I had planned to do that day in Antwerp was prevented by a tempest of wind and rain; still I was able to drive and walk over the most important parts of the town. It was difficult to realise that it had suffered bombardment. The cathedral is intact, and prolonged scrutiny with the naked eye failed to detect an injury which, it is said, marks the exterior. The Royal Palace, the chief thoroughfares, the fine old Square, with its mediæval gabled buildings, were unharmed. We came upon destruction in the Shoe Market; there a complete block, though of no great extent or value, had been entirely demolished by shells. The outlying parts of the city I could not visit owing to the torrential rain, but I saw the long line of docks, deserted and silent, where the grass grows green between the flags and rusty rails. Years ago I saw those docks teeming with life and shipping, but no vessel enters now. War has killed commerce.

A town bombarded as was Antwerp for three days and two nights must have shown many shell-holes and shell-craters. No doubt these were quickly filled in, for I saw no sign of them. Probably also the suburbs show more wreckage than appears in the centre.

MALINES.

"Malines, the scene of fighting and bombardment, has suffered proportionately far more. We took the tram straight for the cathedral, whose lovely old tower, seen afar from the tram, had been re-assuring. There was a sad bit of structural damage to a western gable and buttresses, and sundry lesser injuries to the exterior. Architects might recognise deeper injuries, I can only speak as a superficial observer. Inside the aspect was deplorable, chiefly on account of the ruin of the rare old windows. These, shivering under concussion, had crashed down in a thousand pieces, strewing the ground within and without with jewel-like fragments of varied hue. We gathered a few to treasure reverently, inclined to cry over them with the helpless feeling that clings to things that can never be put together again. As Bernard Shaw wrote: 'You can have glorious wars or glorious cathedrals, but you can't have both.' Malines, however, still has her Cathedral, which can be repaired probably with ease, but the coloured glory of her Flemish glass is already only a memory. Shells have dealt more harshly with the precincts of the Cathedral. There several old buildings of interest and value have been demolished, leaving mere skeleton walls. Somewhat further on I passed a block of considerable extent completely levelled. Men were at work here in the débris evidently planning reconstruction; I remarked it as the only instance seen by me in any town. The other large church of Malines seemed to have escaped all structural injury, but there also a good deal of old glass had fallen from the shaken windows, and the holes were already filled with plain glass. Service was being held; nevertheless, I found the verger in a side aisle. I was anxious to learn from him the fate of the Rubens which I recollected having seen in that church. He pointed to the red curtain behind which it once hung, and told me the picture had been removed for safety before the tide of war reached their town—he was not certain, but he believed it was in London. There were several gutted houses in the long street leading to the station and in some of the adjacent streets. Also in and around the station square numerous houses, themselves intact, had their window-panes broken, and these were boarded up or covered with sacking. The glass roof of the station was riddled with holes through which the rain dripped upon us.

LOUVAIN.

"Interest, of course, centres in Louvain,[1] where I spent a day of inspection, as careful as the untoward weather would permit. One's first feeling was one of profound astonishment that the greater part of the town showed no sign of war at all. This is a town of some 44,000 inhabitants, and 38,000 are living there as usual. The absent 6,000 included men serving in the Belgian Army. I walked and drove about the town for several hours, and believe I saw it pretty thoroughly. There are three centres of destruction—first, the Station Square, of which every house is wrecked, together with the Rue de la Gare; these were mainly small restaurant hotels and shops; secondly, the Place du Peuple, in which some, but not nearly all, the houses were gutted; and, thirdly, the Old Market, a large oblong square, in which a good many houses, but by no means all, have been destroyed. Fronting on the Old Market came one end of the world-famed Library, which was burnt the night of August 25th, four or five days after the Germans had entered Louvain. Of this nothing remains but the walls and gable end. One hopes there may be foundation for the rumour that some of the more precious manuscripts were put in safety.

"Stories abound as to the origin of this fire, a disaster not at all surprising with burning houses near at hand, and a pile of tents and canvasses belonging to the booths of the market folk. A study of the spot may incline one to accept a view compounded from several, but it would be folly to make up one's mind as to the truth till the war is over and evidence can be brought by eye-witnesses from each side. (Strenuous efforts were made to subdue the flames, in which Belgians and Germans worked together.) Nevertheless, the bell turret and roof of the Cathedral caught fire, and these were destroyed before the flames were got under, the molten bells crashing into the nave below. There in the nave I found a sad-looking verger, who showed me the mass of refuse, charred beams, piles of metal, and broken glass. After nearly two years the smell of fire was still very strong. A new roof had already been put on, though of lower pitch and probably temporary; the nave was boarded off, and Mass was being held in the choir and transepts. Here I drew aside and watched while Belgian citizens and German soldiers knelt side by side in prayer. I came across many similar instances of good feeling elsewhere between the German common soldiers and the Belgian peasantry. That sight bore within it the germs of the future, and I felt it would live longer in my memory than anything else I had seen in Louvain. I gathered a few jewels from the dust here also, and stole away feeling that the possibility of universal brotherhood still lives.

"A fine picture which hung in the Cathedral was saved by the German officers, who carried it out and placed it in safety. They also, I was told, dynamited two or three houses to prevent the flames passing to the Hotel de Ville. This unique building is unscathed. Curiously enough, being a sight-seer not of sights as in normal times, but of No-sights or Destruction, I passed it lightly by as a thing of lesser interest! Everywhere I sought only ruins.

"The other churches of Louvain are uninjured, but as we drove about the town now and again one came across a house which had suffered. On the further side of the station the suburb of Kesselloo presents a dismal sight; the majority of its houses are destroyed. Altogether it is thought an eighth of Louvain has suffered.

CHARLEROI.

"I spent Whit-Sunday in Charleroi—an ugly coal-mining town. The journey lay through pretty undulating country which looked fair and prosperous, crops promising well, and gardens blooming. Here and there a cottage had been repaired, but I could detect no ruin till we reached Charleroi itself. I had given up looking for wholesale devastation, but there in the streets leading up from the station some thirty or forty houses had suffered in varying degree, and, again, in one of the boulevards, a section of perhaps 300 or 400 yards had been wrecked. We walked and trammed about for several hours, but found no other material sign of war. The people were busy with an exhibition and sale of handicrafts produced by the lads of the Industrial School. I went in and bought some objects tied up with the Belgian colours.

AERSCHOT.

"Another day was spent at Aerschot—a small town of some 8,000 inhabitants. I heard it computed that perhaps the tenth part is destroyed, but if so, the ruin must be almost entirely in an outlying part across the river. I saw considerable wreckage there. In the Market Square very few houses are wrecked, and the Burgermeister's is quite untouched, with the exception of two bullet-holes which had pierced the panes of one window. It was there that Captain Stengel met his death. We walked about the narrow, picturesque streets and found them in normal condition. The church had sustained no injury, except to the western door. This had evidently been burnt, because the walls close by were blackened and a couple of pictures on the adjacent wall had caught fire and their charred frames and canvasses hung mournfully in place. Judging from a third of similar character, these pictures, fortunately, did not seem to be of artistic value, though doubtless prized locally. The doorway was boarded up and the church was in full use.

"Such details become wearisome, and I have perhaps said enough to show that our Allies can take comfort in the thought that, at any rate, the towns mentioned above are not so badly injured as commonly supposed. Probably at the moment of their hurried flight the flames, the smoke, and the débris newly fallen gave a terrible aspect to familiar streets. Now that is removed, a clearer idea of the extent of the damage can be formed.

"Dinant is, I am told, far more seriously destroyed, owing to much street fighting with the 'Garde Civique,' but, unfortunately, a tempest of rain and wind prevented my visit, and the same reason prohibited excursions to the little villages of Visé, Andennes, &c., which I was especially anxious to see, believing from hearsay that these are really on a par with many Boer villages I had seen—viz., every building, public and private, levelled with the ground.

GENERAL CONDITIONS.

"I have heard it computed by a neutral who has had special facilities for observation, that the houses destroyed in Belgium can perhaps be estimated roughly at 15,000 out of a total of over 2,000,000. Comparing these figures with South Africa, the only standard of devastation that I have experience of for comparison, it would seem that the Belgians have escaped fairly well from the talons of war. For in the Boer Republics 30,000 farms alone were burnt, besides towns and villages in which every building, churches included, was levelled to the ground, and this out of a very small total. This consideration helps us to realise that we are all Huns in turn. If only for

(continued on page 568)

[1] The "destruction of Louvain" is, therefore, a *fiction*. This is probably well-known to the directors of the *Times*. Yet only the other day the *Times* again spoke of Louvain as being destroyed." In a leader in its issue of October 3rd, it said:

> "In the autumn of 1914, Louvain, the nursery of Belgian piety and learning, *was wantonly destroyed*, and the Library, which was its especial pride, was reduced to ashes."

That the *Library* was destroyed is true: that it was wantonly destroyed is almost certainly untrue: that Louvain itself was destroyed is false.

IN BELGIUM (continued from page 567).

the sake of the Belgians, one wishes that peace could be negotiated and their country thus protected from the further destruction consequent upon the air attacks now proceeding dropping bombs on Bruges, Ghent, Aerschot, and Brussels.

"I will not here speak of the underfed condition of the industrial section of the people, since I have called attention to it elsewhere. The blockade is mainly responsible for this, and it is a very strong additional reason for urging negotiations.

"Nor will I speak of the population generally, except to say this. It is a second time I have seen a people in the grip of that agony—the agony of submission to a rule which, however good in itself, is the rule of the conqueror and foreigner. Perhaps the strongest thing one could say on that point is to register one's belief that the last German officials, as they turn their backs upon Belgium, will depart filled with a thankfulness far exceeding that of the Belgians who watch them go."

[1] Since writing the above, I notice a Reuter telegram in the *Times* of September 29th, which says: During a British bombing attack on Brussels, 15 houses were destroyed, and 13 Belgians were killed while 28 were injured.

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WAR OFFICE CRUELTIES (continued from front page).

shillings a week as separation allowance for a half-starved woman and child! On July 20th, the unfortunate woman received a notice informing her that her husband had died on July 9th as the result of an operation in France. A printed note, signed H. H. Asquith, assured her of the "true sympathy of the King and Queen." We continued writing to the War Office. The last reply, dated September 5th, 1916, stated:

"You will observe that the pension for Mrs. —— is still under consideration."

A married man who was subject to periodical drinking fits, went at such times to stay with his mother because his mother best knew how to manage him then, and in order that he might not distress the children. He enlisted at the close of one of these periods of drinking, during which he had paid 25s. a week to his wife. The soldier made an allotment of 3s. 6d., but the War Office, noticing that the husband and wife had lived apart, refused separation allowance. On June 30th the husband wrote:

"Let me know how you get on. Of course, it might take a week to settle this."

But months dragged on and the matter was not settled. On September 13th the wife wrote to us in despair:

"I think I am lost. I would not mind so much if I were able to work. My health is completely broken."

The case is not settled yet.

A HUSBAND'S LETTERS.

A neighbour approached us on behalf of a wife, whom she described as "a clean, hard-working woman." We asked for some of the husband's letters and a batch of crumpled sheets, written in pencil, were brought to us, from which we take the following extracts:

"Well, Polly, I have received no letter from Woolwich yet in answer to mine. I don't know what the devil is the matter. I am sick of writing and getting no anwer. . . . I only wish I could get a leave, and then they would hear the length of my tongue. . . . But, Polly dear, you must try and do your best. I feel very sorry for you, and I am very much upset, as things should have been different, I know. But keep your heart up and there shall be better times for you if it lies in my power. . . ."

"Well, dear wife, I have sent three cards for the children. They are made by the French kiddies. I hope you will like them. When I can I will try to get something for Lavinia and Jane. The French make little brooches out of bullets. I may be able to get one to send. Well, dear wife . . . will close, with fondest love to you and the children. So good-night and God bless you. From your loving husband, ———."

In another long letter he wrote:

"I am pleased that there is a bit better prospect of getting your money. . . . I have written to them and explained all until I am sick of writing. . . . I may be getting a leave after Christmas, and I will go and play hell with them, but that is a long time for you to wait, and I hope they will let you have it before then. . . . Dear wife, I am so pleased to hear that the kiddies are going on so well, and I should only like to be with them and you. And you know, Polly, they ought to be bonny, as you were the bonniest lass in ——— when I married you, and I still think you are the bonniest yet; so keep your heart up until this War is over. . . . We will not be long before we have another little home together, if I have to work day and night for it. . . ."

In a later letter the husband again complained:

"I have seen the Pay Sergeant, and he is going to write to Woolwich for me. . . . I have received orders that I am not to write to the Paymaster any more, as it is not allowed, so you see, Polly, I am in a fix. . . . I only wish I could see my time over again; things would be different. . . . Well, dear wife, the weather keeps very bad out here; very miserable, and we have to live under ground or else take the risk of being blown to bits by German shells. It gets on one's nerves. The same life day after day, and no sign of a change. . . ."

We sent these letters to the War Office on August 10th, and on October 8th received a reply stating that:

"It is regretted that the evidence of reconciliation produced is not considered sufficient to warrant the issue of separation allowance for the wife."

Thus the man living underground in the wet and taking the risk of being blown to bits, and the "clean, hard-working woman struggling to maintain her little family were judged by the snug War Office officials and by them found wanting.

EUSTON THEATRE DEMONSTRATION

It was with a certain feeling of suppressed excitement that I went to the Euston Theatre meeting on Sunday last. The *Express* and its fellow mischief-makers had been trying to rouse up popular feeling against any demonstration in favour of Adult Suffrage on the ground that the "peace cranks" were at work again. Apparently even the most misguided dupes of those organs could not swallow this very patent humbug. The first sight that greeted one was an abundance of sellers of Suffrage and Labour literature, and they all seemed to be doing a good trade, for the spacious Euston Theatre was filled with friends—it was, as the proprietor said, the best attended meeting he had seen there for two years, though the various railway and other trade union demonstrations have been held there.

An odd Colonial or two looked in occasionally to see whether there was "anything doing," but on ascertaining that there were about one hundred stewards, some of them thought it best to retire and let progress keep the field for once, and many of them agreed that of course Adult Suffrage for men and women is just and has to come.

A strong Canadian accent introduced a British Columbian in civilian dress who congratulated some of us on the victory of votes for women in his native province, and wished us Britishers a similar success in the near future. He declared that the British Columbian victory may certainly be counted on, although the result of the soldiers' voting is not complete, because they are mainly in favour of it, though they may vote down prohibition.

Shortly after 6 p.m. the public, which was now filling the theatre, brought the Chairman and other speakers on to the platform by their applause.

MR. CARTER, N.U.R., opened the meeting in a speech advocating the necessity of bringing pressure to bear on the Government to settle the franchise question by giving votes to all men and women over 21. He reminded the audience that those who have threatened to oppose Adult Suffrage are those who have consistently opposed every measure of popular advancement.

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS showed that the Suffrage question is closely allied to liberty. He denounced the cant of professing to fight for liberty abroad whilst filching away the liberties of those left behind. He referred to the profiteers and Mr. Lloyd George and his measures in strong language, which met with deafening applause.

MRS BARTON, a past President of the Women's Co-operative Guild, put the working woman's point of view—her life-long fight against overwhelming odds to make ends meet, her responsibility as a mother and moulder of her children's character. In a quiet speech, devoid of exaggeration, and instinct with common sense she asked whether any struggle could be harder than that of the mother who is obliged to say to her child who begs "just one slice mother, I am so hungry": "No, child, that's for breakfast." She told that during an inquiry which she had conducted in Sheffield she had learnt from numbers of mothers that whilst "father must have his little bit" of meat or bacon in order that his energy and power of work might be maintained, "mother and the children must go without." And this in a town where munitions are being made, and pressmen talk of wages varying from £7 to £13 a week.

MR. E. C. FAIRCHILD, B.S.P., said that he wanted Adult Suffrage as a Trade Unionist, as a Socialist, and as a Pacifist, because he believed that those who have suffered most by the War should have a voice in deciding the issues involved in it. He said that the Allies would be unable to keep their armies in the field without the labour of women, and from that point of view there could be no justification in withholding votes for women, but it was a monstrous thing that the mothers of the nation should have had to wait for enfranchisement till they could prove that they could make murderous implements to kill the husbands and sons of other women.

MR. FRED BRAMLEY aptly said that Mrs. Barton's speech ought to be taken into the House of Commons for its educational value. He graphically described the parting of the wife and children with the soldier whom they scarcely dare to expect will return again, and the wife going home in bitter hopelessness and misery—to starve. He wanted Adult Suffrage to put profiteers and war-makers into the power of those women. He urged that this meeting should be but the starting point in a great national campaign.. Bricks and mortar or sex must not be the basis of citizenship—it is as Mrs. Barton said, "the human element" which must prevail.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST seconded this appeal, and urged that there should be no thought of compromise but a strong, clear-cut demand for a vote for every man and woman. No section should consider the possibility of bargaining away the electoral rights of any other section by eloquent speeches.

She put the whole case in a nutshell when she said: "We are tired of the Suffrage movement, it must be settled once and for all in order that we may move on to things which will carry us further forward in the evolution of progress." She called on the Government to do the "big thing" for once and give votes to all. As the last speaker of an evening of fine speeches she convinced her audience by her illustration from life with which her work amongst the people provides her. Great applause and enthusiasm greeted her speech, as indeed all the others.

The resolution: "That this mass meeting realising that all men and women have an equal claim to the franchise, calls upon the Government to introduce not a Registration but a Franchise Bill, to give a vote to every man and woman who has reached the age of 21 years," was carried with two dissentients amid a storm of enthusiasm.

Parliament will discuss the franchise question when the Speaker's Conference has decided what course to recommend. I hope there were members of that Conference present last Sunday. If so the course to take can no longer be a debatable one for them; they must have gathered from the unanimity of this vast mixed public that Votes for All is What the People Want.

"ONLOOKER."

EDWARD FULLER.

At the Stratford Petty Sessions, Mr. Edward Fuller, a journalist, who was to have spoken for our Poplar Branch, was summoned under the Defence of the Realm Act and condemned to pay a fine of £100 and £21 costs, or to go to prison for 91 days. The accusation was that of showing a poster with the inscription:—

THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR ON WAR.

"War will become impossible if all men were to have the view that War is wrong."—Mr. A. H. Bodkin, K.C., speaking on behalf of the Public Prosecutor, at the Mansion House, London, on May 17th, 1916, in the case against the No-Conscription Fellowship.

We understand that Mr. Fuller has chosen to go to prison.

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIAN HISTORY.

There will be a meeting under the auspices of the Union of East and West at the Grafton Galleries, Bond Street, W., on Friday, October 13th, at 3 p.m., when Mr. Edmund Russell, the distinguished artist and Orientalist will speak on Great Women of Indian History, telling the stories of some of these little known heroines in home life, in politics and in the battlefield. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will take the chair. Admission free by tickets from Hon. Organiser, Union of East and West, 14 St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W., by sending stamped addressed envelope.

If your Pension is not correct, write to the Secretary of the League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives, at 400 Old Ford Road, E.

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UNWANTED BABIES

Home for Boys (Twins).—A number of motherless and other children of men who are at the front or on the high seas are being well cared for in the National Children's Home and Orphanage, and possibly yours also might be received into the institution. Write Secretary, 104-122 City Road, E.C.

Infants' Homes (F. W.).—The headquarters of Dr. Barnardo's Homes are at Stepney Causeway, E. If unsuccessful there, apply Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., who has a home for war babies or to Secretary, Mission of Hope, 32 Denman Street, London Bridge, S.E.

The above obscure little paragraph which appeared in the *News of the World* on October 1st is bringing, to me at least, a stream of correspondence. At the moment of writing 48 letters applying for homes for babies have come to hand, and every post adds to the number. The letters come from Brixton, Brunswick Square, W., Child's Hill, N.W., Hammersmith, Highbury, Lewisham, Notting Hill, Pimlico, Plumstead, Stepney and Westminster; Birmingham, Brentwood, Cardiff, Clitheroe, Coventry, Edinburgh, Glasgow, a village near Harpenden, Ilkeston, Newport, Mon., Norfolk, Pryde, Saltburn, Scarborough, a village near Slough, a village in Surrey, Suffolk, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Shropshire, Berwick-on-Tweed, and other places. In four cases the children are legitimate, three of their mothers are soldiers' wives who cannot exist on the separation allowance. One, who lives in Stepney, states that she has a boy of one year and five months who cannot yet walk, and is expecting another baby in three months' time. At present her allowance is a guinea a week. When the new baby comes it will be 24s. 6d. She is very delicate, and therefore cannot work. Another soldier's wife writes from Clitheroe. Her allowance, of course, is 3s. 6d. a week less than that of a soldier's wife living in London, and is 27s. for herself and the five children. She has a young baby and four other children. She wishes to give up her house and go into service, and to put the baby into a home. She says that her husband has already made arrangements for the four other children. The third soldier's wife has three children, the eldest of whom will not be four till next April, the youngest being eight months old. She cannot manage on her separation allowance, and wants to get into a munition factory or to be a Red Cross nurse.

These applications from soldiers' wives throw up into sharp relief the fact that the separation allowance was only just enough to maintain the soldier's wife and family on a minimum scale of necessaries when it was first fixed. Now that the cost of living has risen so enormously it is imperative that the separation allowance should be raised.

A widow with two children, the youngest of whom was born after her husband's death, is ill in bed, and a friend writes to ask that her youngest child should be adopted as she cannot feed another child on the 13s. which is all she earns.

In all the other 44 cases the children appear to be illegitimate, though in two instances this is not definitely stated.

In seventeen cases the father is said to be a soldier, in one case a munition worker, in another he is said to be in India, and in the remaining 25 cases the father's occupation is not given, but as the writers are applying, as they believe, to a home for War babies, it is probable that many have not thought it necessary to explain that the father is a soldier.

The vast majority of the babies are the first children of young unmarried women, but in one case the baby is the second illegitimate child, in one case the mother is the British wife of an interned alien, and in one case the mother is a widow with two legitimate children. She writes :—

I was a widow with two children when I met a man who I thought was straight, and under promise of marriage I went to live with him, only to find out when it was too late that he was a married man. I have been paying 14s. a week for the baby, but it has almost been starvation for me and my other children, as my money is only 30s. a week, but now I have had to give my work up to try and find a cheaper place for him, and I have to depend on a widowed mother to support me and my children until I can go back to work, as the father of the child only allows 3s. 6d. a week. Hoping to hear from you.

The mothers of these illegitimate children are in most cases entirely dependent on their own earnings. One writes from a Workhouse infirmary :—

Dear Madam,—I am writing to see if you could please help me in my trouble. My age is twenty, and I have a little baby boy six weeks old. At present I am in the infirmary, but I am expecting my discharge in a few days. I feel greatly distressed about baby as I have nowhere to take him or anyone to look after him while I seek employment. I have only lived in London for a few months, and I have no friends or relations to do anything for me. I have written to the Foundling Hospital and Homes of Hope, but they are unable to do anything for me.

The father of the child was a soldier, and when I told him of my condition he went away, and as he had given me a false name and I did not know his regimental number, I was unable to trace him.

I have had to bear my troubles alone. If only I could have someone to help me with baby, to give me a chance to make a fresh start in life, I should be so very, very grateful.

I have tried to explain a little of my circumstances, so you might understand how I feel in my helpless condition. Please forgive me for the trouble which I may be giving you. If you could kindly favour me with an early reply I should be greatly obliged.

Another says that her mother cannot help her as her father is an invalid.

In only one case is the father contributing anything to the support of the child. Many letters complain that the father has given a false name, has concealed the fact that he was married, several say that he disappeared upwards of eight months before the child was born. One writes :—"I don't know where the man is that owns it." Another : " It is a wicked shame that these men should go free while we poor girls should be left to take all the blame."

A girl of eighteen, whose child is ten months old, says that she has a "hard struggle," and cannot maintain the baby, "as it should be kept."

A most piteous letter comes from the grandmother of one of the babies :—

My daughter, a girl of 19 years, gave birth to a female child, illegitimate, on September 21st. I cannot possibly have the child home here, because her work is being kept open for her, and if it were known she had a child she would, of course, lose her living.

We are working people, my husband's wages are £1 per week, and my daughter is the eldest of six, my youngest child is under two years.

My daughter has always been such a great help to me till this dreadful downfall. She will willingly pay to help support the child if only she can get it into a good home. She has the care of the child entirely on her own hands. The father of the child is a soldier, and under the circumstances we cannot make him pay. She did not realise her condition, and I did not know she was going to be confined till three weeks before she was, so that I was quite unprepared. My daughter is getting her discharge from the hospital either on Tuesday or Wednesday next. I do so hope to be able to find a home by then. Miss Greaves, the Matron of the City Road Hospital, will inform you of anything you may want to know. I told her everything I knew about it. If you can help me or advise me as to a home I shall be very grateful.

In April, 1915, Mr. Ronald McNeill wrote to the *Morning Post* assuming that a large number of "War" babies must be expected, and urging that :—

"The Government should at once pass legislation drastically reforming the laws of bastardy, and that the children should be adopted by the State."

In Parliament, on April 28th, Mr. McNeill asked the Prime Minister to introduce legislation to enable soldiers to marry by proxy, but Mr. Asquith refused.

The newspapers took up the question, and published all sorts of exaggerated rumours in regard to the number of "War babies" expected. Finally, a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Creighton, held an inquiry and announced the "War" baby problem to be imaginary. After that, "War" babies were out of fashion. But now these disturbing letters keep coming by every post. If one obscure newspaper paragraph can bring this stream of piteous applications there must be countless other cases of which one does not know.

What is to be done for these helpless infants? France and Austria, early in the War, made arrangements for soldiers to marry by proxy from the trenches. This would meet the need in some cases in this country; but even the separation allowance is refused to the unmarried mother of the soldier's baby unless she was supported by the soldier prior to enlistment. The fact that she was engaged to him and that they intended to marry does not count, and if he is killed before marriage is possible there is no pension for her or the child.

In Norway, where women vote, the illegitimate child has the same legal claim for maintenance and education upon his father as the legitimate child. The illegitimate child has a right to use his father's name and to inherit from him equally with his other children.

What is to be done for these British babies and their mothers? They cannot wait. The *News of the World* has said that the Workers' Suffrage Federation has a home for "War" babies, which is not the case. We have four maternity and infant welfare centres and a day-nursery; and in a number of cases we have been able to help destitute mothers by sending them to recover their strength with friends in the country, by finding work for them and sometimes by receiving their babies into our day-nursery or by finding temporary or permanent homes for the babies in private families. But our present financial power to help is taxed to its utmost. Several of the mothers write that they have approached unsuccessfully the various well-known orphanages. It appears, therefore, that these institutions are unable to cope with the need for babies' homes, and, in any case, it is best in the vast majority of cases to keep the mother and child together.

A wise Government would treat the unmarried mothers of soldiers' children as though they were soldiers' wives, and would make other provision where the father is a civilian.

Can the Government be induced to make grants to municipalities for women's hostels with day nurseries for the children of those of the mothers who are able to work and to arrange for suitable work for the women at decent wages? The low wages paid to women are largely the cause of this trouble and greatly complicate it. It would be necessary also to provide convalescent homes for those of the mothers who are in bad health.

Or will the Government make grants to organisations prepared to undertake this work?

Or if the Government will not undertake these duties, is there a group of public-spirited individuals with means at their disposal who will make something of this kind possible?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

Common Sense, the new weekly newspaper edited by F. W. Hirst, has appeared this week. This paper has been whispered of as the coming Peace Paper. A Peace Paper is much wanted. We wish, indeed, that the bold step of issuing a Peace daily paper might be adopted. But though the War attitude of *Common Sense* is a vast improvement upon that of such papers as the *Times* and the *Daily News*, its policy is not in the first number a very bold one. There are at least five other weeklies that have taken a stronger and more unmistakable line than *Common Sense* against the continuance of the War.

MILK.

The people of Dublin are agitating against the rise in the price of milk from 4d. to 5d. a quart. It is believed that the dealers will have to give way.

* * * *

South Wales miners are agitating for the immediate Government control of the milk supply in the interests of the child life of the nation. A mass meeting of Rhondda Valley mothers has been convened to inaugurate the campaign, and it is proposed to fix a date for the beginning of a boycott of milk dealers.

MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS AGAIN.

A petition has been forwarded to the Minister of Munitions (Mr. E. S. Montagu) by women workers employed by the Ministry at Armament Buildings and other offices protesting strongly against the distinction made between men and women in the matter of a war bonus. It is urged that such discrimination is invidious, because the continued increase in the cost of living is as great a burden on women as on men, and tradesmen do not regulate their prices according to the sex of their customers: and impolitic, because the trade union objection to the policy of dilution is the suspicion that women will be gradually used as cheaper substitutes for men.

Dear Editor,—On Saturday last the Derby Police visited our house and took away, together with other papers, the DREADNOUGHT. This morning we have had another visit from the detective. Exception has been taken to the article "Barrack Life" in "The Trail of the War." Proceedings are being taken. I will let you know more as things develop.—L. BENT.

L.G.B. REPORTS MORE DISEASE.

The Local Government Board Report for 1915-1916, Part III., shows that the number of cases of notifiable diseases amongst the civilian population was 342,473 in 1913, and 318,976 in 1915. The actual increase is not large, but the relative increase is tremendous, because seven million men have been withdrawn from the civilian population. These figures mean that amongst the women, children, and the remaining civilian population of men the prevalence of notifiable disease has greatly increased. The most striking increase is that of cerebro-spinal fever, which has risen from 304 in 1913, 355 in 1914, to 2,566 in 1915.

GERMAN PEACE FEELERS.

The *New York Tribune* states that German agents have suggested to the Belgian King that peace should be concluded on condition that Germany withdraws from Belgium and Serbia, pays an indemnity to Belgium and returns Lorraine to France.

If this is true no one can continue to assert either that the Allies are fighting in self-defence or to vindicate Belgium. British mothers may save their sons by pressing for peace.

MR. GINNELL.

Our good wishes to Mr. Ginnell, who goes to prison for three weeks as a result of his championship of the Irish prisoners. His alleged offence was that of signing his name in Gaelic instead of in English in the Prison Visitors' Book.

We wish success to the National Joint Committee of Postal Workers in their stand against the most unjust treatment which the Government has meted out to them. The rise in the cost of living since March, 1915, is in no way met by the 1s. a week war bonus to men and 6d. to women with which the Government has replied to the workers' demand for increases of from 3s. to 5s. a week without distinction of sex. Moreover, the Government has set aside the arbitration award of Sir James Woodhouse, which granted the last bonus for as long as increased prices should continue, and has restricted the duration of the bonus to the period of the War. The Postal Workers' Committee justly challenges the right of the Government, as an employer, to abrogate the award of an arbitrator without the consent of all the parties thereto. If the workers had done this thing, what an outcry the capitalist Press would have raised!

* * * *

The French Chamber has adopted a Bill giving the Government power to revoke naturalisation certificates to ex-enemy subjects. More scraps of paper!

Remember that this is "Dreadnought" Week, and that the money you have collected for it should be sent in by October 20th, to this office.

"DREADNOUGHT" SOCIAL

A Social and Dance is being arranged by Miss O'Brien and other friends to take place at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m. Tickets, 3d. Refreshments at popular prices. There will be a moon that night, so friends need not fear the Zepps!

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... ... 1d.
Minimum Subscription... 1d. a month

LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13th.
"Whitehouse," 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45, Lecture.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14th.
Morpeth Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Grundy Street, 3 p.m., Miss Price.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 15th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Price.
Hampstead, "Jack Straw's Castle," 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mr. Mackinlay.
Poplar Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.
MONDAY, OCTOBER 16th.
Morpeth Street, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Green Gate, 6 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Ford Road, 6 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., General Meeting.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 17th.
Copenhagen Place, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Cannon Street Road, 6 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Maybury Gardens, High Road, Willesden, 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room.
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Holloway.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.30 p.m., Lecture.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19th.
Chandos Hall, 3.30 p.m., At Home.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Shiells.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20th.
"Whitehouse," 3.30 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21st.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hague Street, 3 p.m., Miss Price.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22nd.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Davies, Miss O'Callaghan.
Bow Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.

W.S.F. BRANCHES.

Bow, 400 Old Ford Road. Secretary, Miss Price.—DREADNOUGHT sales week ending October 7th, 894. Miss Harriet, 200; Miss O'Brien, 182; Mrs. Holloway, 107; Miss Price, 44; Miss Lynch, 40; Mrs. Bouvier, 32; Mrs. Crabb, 18; general sales, 271. BROMLEY sales, 39.

BIRMINGHAM.

A social evening will be held shortly at Stirchley Institute to obtain funds for the Birmingham stall at the forthcoming sale. All friends please look out for notice next week. Also please make sixpenny articles for a pig-in-the-poke sale, or others, to be forwarded for the stall. If we all do a little, we shall be able to make quite a nice sum for the DREADNOUGHT and the babies.—A. F. BODEN (Hon. Sec., pro tem.).

GLASGOW.

The Workers' Suffrage Federation campaign proceeds vigorously in the West of Scotland, and Mrs. Boyce, the organiser, continues to have successful meetings. During the past week she has addressed ten open-air meetings, some of them at public works, and at all her plea for the Human Suffrage was enthusiastically approved. The women munition workers are particularly favourable to the extension of the Franchise on a human basis, as they feel that the labour of women will be used to lower the general standard of living. In the North Ayrshire by-election, one of the planks in the programme of the Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, the Independent candidate, is "Adult Suffrage," and references to it are being heartily applauded at the meetings throughout the constituency.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

A series of educative lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., has been organised by Mrs. Hercbergova to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45. The lectures are:—

Oct. 13th. MR E. C. FAIRCHILD, "HOW TO SECURE A PERMANENT PEACE."
,, 20th. Mr. Walton Newbold, "The Conquest of Economic Power."
,, 27th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "The History of British Socialism."
Nov. 3rd. Mr. J. Fineberg (B.S.P.), "Theory of Karl Marx."
,, 10th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
,, 17th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
,, 24th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "International Socialism."
Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."
,, 15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstoi's Philosophy of Religion."

Mr. John Scurr has kindly arranged to give a course of lectures entitled, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E. The subjects are:—

Oct. 18th. "THE REFORMATION."
,, 25th. "The Spacious Days of Elizabeth."
Nov. 1st. "The Building of the Constitution."
,, 8th. "The Beginning of Empire."
,, 15th. "The Industrial Revolution."
,, 22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."
,, 29th. "The Uplift of Labour."

We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.

Every Thursday in October and November At Homes will be held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane). October 19th, at 3.30, Mrs. Bessie Ward, "Beware Industrial Conscription"; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook"; Mr. J. Arnall, "Politics and Politicians I have known." Chair, Mrs. Drake. October 26th, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Rosa Hobhouse, "Necessary Evils—an Illusion"; Mr. Tom Richardson, M.P. Chair, Miss O'Callaghan.

Poplar Women's Hall, October 15th, 7 p.m. Mrs. Davies, Miss Dorothy Matthews, "War will become impossible if all men were to have the view that War is wrong." Recitations, Miss Dorothy Matthews. Chair, Miss Lynch.

Monday, October 16th, 8 p.m., General Meeting of London section of W.S.F. at Bow Women's Hall.

Public Meeting, October 29th, 7 p.m., at the Public Baths Concert Hall, Barking. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Drake, Mr. F. Seymour Cocks, and others will speak on Human Suffrage and Problems after the War. Admission free.

CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION

Caxton Hall Exhibition, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p.m. daily.

Friends are asked to help in stocking and taking the stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

WOMEN IN LABOUR POLITICS

A very lively adjourned conference on the Political and Industrial Position of Women now and after the War was held at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on October 7th. The following resolutions were adopted:—

"That Trade Unions should make no distinction of sex in admitting workers to their membership, and should demand the same rates of pay for men and women members.

"That this Conference, noting the increasing tendency of the employing classes to displace skilled by semi and unskilled labour in many processes, is of the opinion that in order to prevent any lowering of the standard of living, such semi-skilled and unskilled workers, whether men or women, shoud receive the same rate of remuneration as is paid to the skilled workers whom they replace.

"This Conference protests against the provisions slipped into the Police (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, which present loopholes for making the workers pay for necessary factory equipment and for welfare; and further is of opinion that questions of health and sanitation affecting the workers should be the constant care of the workers' own organisations.

"That a propaganda campaign be inaugurated, and a Committee of nine, with power to add, be elected from this Conference for the purpose of a propaganda campaign, which shall have for its object the organising of women in Trade Unions.

The Committee was duly elected with Mr. Brew hon. secretary.

"That after the War it should be insisted that hours of labour be reduced until every worker is absorbed into industry, but that there shall be no reduction of wages. This Conference is of opinion that the three-shift system is only tolerable as an emergency measure, and that the working day should begin and end at reasonable hours.

"The Conference protests against the growing employment of child-labour, and recognises the competition of young people in industry as a serious menace both to their elders and to themselves. It demands that no child under the age of sixteen shall be employed as a wage-earner, and recommends that the working hours of young persons of either sex under 18 years shall be not more than six per day; a proportion of the time during which young people under 21 years are employed, and paid by their employers, shall be spent in classes of technical or other instruction.

"That this Conference calls on the Government to introduce, not a Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give a vote to every adult man and woman.

"This Conference is of opinion that there should be one union for each industry that shall embrace every worker in the trade, regardless of craft or sex.

"The freedom of the individual must be preserved in any State emigration schemes.

"This Conference demands that upon the declaration of peace the Defence of the Realm Act, the Munitions Act, the Military Service Acts, and all other "national necessity" legislation shall automatically cease.

"That this Conference is of opinion that there should be one Union for each industry which should embrace every worker in the industry, regardless of craft or sex, and that such Union should have control of the industry."

In the course of the discussion the representative of the Shoreditch Trades Council said that women were wanted who would make it their business to secure that Trade Unionism should become part of the ordinary daily life of women. "Trade Unionism," he said, "had got to fight its way into other than Trade Union organisations just as Suffrage has done with other than Suffrage Societies. He thought that sub-committees of women in Co-operative Guilds, Suffrage Societies, and so on, should be formed to push the Trade Union idea within their respective organisations.

Mrs. Walker said that men's Trade Unions had not done enough for women, and asked what was to happen to the women who would be thrown out of work at the close of the War. Miss Manicom, of the Workers' Union, and Mr. Holden, of the General Workers' Union, replied that if women wanted the Trade Unions to help them they must become Trade Unionists. Men who belong to Trade Unions could not provide out of their wages unemployment benefit for women who would not join the Unions and pay their contributions.

Mr. Watson, A.S.E. said that the difficulty of organising women was largely due to tneir economic dependence upon men. He considered that temporary organisations of women should be established until the A.S.E. and other Unions were prepared to admit them. The workers—men and women alike—should organise in industrial Unions with the object of obtaining complete control over the industry.

There was a very sharp controversy on the question of industrial and craft Unionism. Representatives of the General Workers' Union

(Continued foot of next column.)

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Miss Christine Gregory, £2 10s.; Leonard Franklin, Esq., £2; Mrs. Hartley Withers, £1 1s.; Mrs. Struve, £1; Mrs. Gow (dentist's chair), £1; Mr. Genge, 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Chandos Hall, 9s. 10d., Mrs. Bouvier (Hammersmith C.C.L.), 3s. 7½d.; Poplar Women's Hall, 1s. 7d.; Bow Women's Hall, 4½d.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Mrs. Emma M. James, £1; Miss M. Gliksten, £1; Miss E. Sykes, 2s.; Mrs. Metge, 1s. 9d.; J.W.E., 1s.; Mrs. D. M. Gouldbourne, 1s.; W. Watson, Esq., 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Messrs. A. Gliksten and Sons (£1 1s. monthly), £5 5s.; Mrs. A. L. Wright, £5; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), £2; The Misses Gulland and Friend, £1 11s. 6d.; Bow Sale of Clothes, £1 2s. 2d.; Miss Eva Adkins, £1 1s.; Mrs. E. Holmes, £1 1s.; The Misses Mann (monthly), £1; Miss G. L. Smyth (monthly), £1; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Mrs. Bevan (monthly), 10s.; Miss E. Morgan (5s. monthly), 10s.; Robert Woodifield, Esq., 10s.; Miss O. L. Cobb, 10s.; Mrs. L. Usherwood, 8s.; Miss E. M. Percival, 5s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly), 5s.; Mrs. Winterne, 5s.; Miss J. T. Dreury (monthly), 5s.; Four Northern Friends (monthly), 5s.; The Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Miss Eleanor Barnes, 5s.; Mrs. Cooke, 3s.; Miss M. Schaub, 2s. 6d.; Miss Bellamy, 2s. 6d.; Miss Lilian Riley, 2s. 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Salmon, 1s.; Miss K. D. Broadhurst, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Boswell, £10 9s. 6d.; L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 19s. 3d.; Mrs. Crabb, 10s. 9d.; Miss Lagsding, 9s. 8d.; Miss Mackay, 9s. 3d.; G.S.P., 7s. 9d.; Poplar Sale of Clothes, 6s. 2d.; Nursery Box, 4s. 0½d.; Mrs. Dodge, 2s. 10d.; Miss Dack, 2s. 7d.; Miss Isa Barker, 2s. 6d.; Miss Harriet, 2s. 3½d.

EXHIBITION FUND.—Mrs. F. E. Rowe, £1; Mrs. Bevan, £1; Mrs. Colebrook, £1; Mrs. Hylda Ball, 10s.; The Misses Gulland, 5s.; A. Cope, Esq., 4s.; Mrs. Sylvia Saxby, 1s.

MEDICINE BOTTLES.—Mr. Bradley.

CLOTHES.—Mrs. J. S. Davies, Mrs. Gow, Anon., Miss Appleyard.

GROCERIES.—Hampstead National Food Fund.

FLOWERS.—Miss J. E. Sinclair.

MOTHERS AND BABIES.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS,
438 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW.

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR
(opposite South Bromley Station).

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 3 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 2 p.m.

124 BARKING ROAD, CANNING TOWN.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 4 p.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

COST PRICE RESTAURANTS at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

WANTS.

Subscriptions to the milk and food fund. Doctoring and nursing can help little if mothers and children are unable to obtain the nourishment that is ordered.

New laid eggs, barley, glaxo, virol, for invalids. Medicine bottles, clothing and shoes for adults and boys and girls of all ages.

For baby, four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests, and a cot blanket; for mother, two nightgowns, woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets, and a pair of pillow cases.

Growing plants, flowers and branches for all our centres and for the L.C.C. schools. We should be grateful to friends who would supply us regularly. We also need vegetables and fruit.

More cupboards are needed at all our centres.

Nurse needs empty medicine bottles at her dispensary.

Health Talks to Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

WANTED.—A TRAVELLER for the toy trade.—Apply, A., 45 Norman Road, E.

WANTED.—An EXPERIENCED CUTTER and FOREWOMAN.—Apply, H., 45 Norman Road, E.

RESPECTABLE WOMAN is offered room rent free in return for cleaning.—Apply, 45 Norman Road, Bow, E.

"The Birthrate,"

Notes and Views on the Report of the National Birthrate Commission, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Price 1d 9d. per. dozen

Bound Volumes I and II of "Woman's Dreadnought" shortly ready, price 6/6 each. To be obtained at 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.

WOMEN IN LABOUR POLITICS (continued).

urged that labourers found that the skilled men often treated them no better than their masters. The labourers feared that if they threw in their lot with the skilled men it would mean extinction for the labourers. The Engineers' and Boilermakers' Unions which catered for labourers, refused them equal rights of membership including that of taking office. Mr. Watson admitted this, but said that such injustices could be remedied.

A Russian delegate from the Farriers' Union urged that organisation should be built up on the basis of a Trade Union branch for every factory. Great Britain had been the mother of Trade Unionism, but in countries like Russia, where Trade Unionism was of later growth, the workers had seen where the British system should be improved.

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